

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

CIVIL DEFENCE SUPPLEMENT

Inside

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WHAT HAVE THEY DECIDED?



Mr. Lester Pearson
CANADA



Mr. Selwyn Lloyd
UNITED KINGDOM



M. Jules Moch
FRANCE



Mr Yacob Malik
U.S.S.R.



Mr M. Patterson
U.S.A.

The Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations is still continuing its discussions in London. These men were the leading delegates to that conference when it opened.

CAN THEY CONTROL THE COBALT-BOMB?

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS OF DISARMAMENT BY AGREEMENT? How far can Conferences on international control succeed in producing that spirit of trust which alone can make world disarmament a practicable possibility?

The question poses itself again this week with heightened drama. For it is now clear that we are living in the world with a cobalt bomb. Four years ago Professor Einstein wrote of this bomb:

"If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence annihilation of any life on earth, will have been brought within the range of technical possibilities."

Sir George Thomson, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, said in a recent broadcast that as a weapon the cobalt bomb was absurd, because it would mean world suicide, not war. There could be no controlling where it got to. "To judge from the great Krakatoa explosion of 1880, much of the material would be carried several times round the earth," he said.

William L. Laurence, Scientific Correspondent of the New York Times, writing in April this year said: "Instead of a shell of steel which becomes only mildly radioactive as it turns into a cloud of vapour, a shell of cobalt encases the fission and fusion substances. On being vapourised in the explosion it is transformed into a deadly radioactive cloud, 320 times more powerful than radium."

"This cloud can travel with the prevailing winds over distances of thousands of miles, destroying all life in its path. The bomb could be exploded from a ship in the Pacific, for example, hundreds, even thousands of miles from the coast, and the cloud would travel with the winds towards the United States west coast and the rest of the north American continent."

Mr. Laurence said that it was obvious that the cobalt bomb could never be tested anywhere.

Last week Mr. Patterson, a member of the US Atomic Energy Committee, said that the United States had now in her possession weapons which were "too dangerous to test."

There is thus no doubt that the bomb is at present in existence.

It can be only a question of time before Russia has such a bomb if it is not already in her arsenal.

About the dread prospect of the use of the bomb, Sir George Thomson said:

"It is terrible that a sufficiently large group of madmen, if such existed, should have this possibility open to them."

The next stage, already in development, is

Japanese, seeking to save dying fishermen, allege—

ATOMIC DISEASE FACTS CONFISCATED BY U.S.

From EDITH ADLAM

A JAPANESE correspondent of mine, a foreign language student of Osaka University, has sent me some comments on the aftermath of the experimental H-bomb explosion based on statements in the weekly, Asahi, and other Japanese newspapers:

When the Japanese fishing vessel became contaminated with H-bomb ash she was located at least 18 miles out of the danger area fixed by the American authority. Scientific proof of this is available.

Japanese scientists say that the destructive radio-active rays penetrate the body and give radio-activity to calcium, strontium, barium, etc., in the body. The bone becomes damaged and the press say that there is no cure for this bone destruction.

According to reports the Americans, during the occupation, confiscated data on disease caused by the atomic bomb. If Japanese scientists had this data they would be in a better position to deal with the injuries that have followed the H-bomb experiment.

What they want to know is what elements the ash contains. If they knew more about the character of the ash they would be better able to take steps towards curing the fishermen. This information has been kept secret, however, as a USA security measure.

the discharge of the H-bomb by means of guided missiles.

Against this background, the world now waits for the report of the UN Disarmament Conference. But it waits without enthusiasm, almost without hope, for there is little reason to expect that it will produce a formula capable of prompting the dramatic action now

necessary if the human race is to be saved from destruction.

With every new horror added to the armouries of the world, the challenge is re-emphasised—there can be no waiting till all the great states are unanimous in their decision to reduce their own power by disarming—some nation must take the lead.

CD in the cobalt age is

A CARDBOARD HELMET

says Our Political Correspondent

A FEW days ago, Gen. Gruenther told the English Speaking Union that in a future war the West must use atomic and "all other" weapons from the outset, both tactically and strategically, so as to give time for the mobilisation of reserves upon D day plus 15 and D day plus 30.

A large and distinguished audience solemnly applauded him.

Some of them, not least the Prime Minister, must have realised the meaning of the speech they were applauding. American may still be being spoken upon D day plus 15. It is virtually certain that English will not.

Survival Time

I find it quite impossible to believe that the strategy of Western defence at present is really based upon any Governmental illusions about the defensibility of Britain. No government which possesses scientific and military advisers bases its calculations upon uninformed hope, and there can be little doubt of the assessment which the British government will have received from such advisers.

Britain, with or without active defence, and with or without civil defence, could survive as an organised community under atomic attack for about 24 hours, assuming a rate of bomber penetration equal to that which obtained on our most successful days against the Luftwaffe.

Whether or not a Russian attack "this year" would be defeated as resoundingly as Gen. Gruenther predicts is an academic question, and I doubt if the Prime Minister is seriously concerned with it.

Nobody outside America expects such an attack, and if it were defeated we should not be here to see.

Britain and Europe are effectively indefensible against atomic attack, now or in the foreseeable future.

The problem the Western governments really face is not one of "defence" at all. They have been obliged to erect a dummy strategy, designed not to be used. If ever it came to the point of being used, few of us would be there to judge its success.

Real Function

The real function of this strategy is, so far as the European governments are concerned, to bluff the Russians out of any direct aggression.

That, among the civilian members of European governments, is the intention. It is against this background that Civil Defence must be viewed.

Civil Defence is not meant to provide effective, or even partially effective, protection against atomic attack. To begin to do

Tom Wardle's U.S. tour cancelled

Because of the delay in the granting of an entry visa for the United States it has been necessary to cancel the proposed speaking tour that Tom Wardle, of Peace News staff, was to have made there this summer.

this upon the scale undertaken even by Sweden would bankrupt us overnight.

It is not really intended as a palliative. It is true that after atomic bombardment some trained help would be better than no trained help, but the difference would be slight in a country devoid of food, hospitals, drinkable water, and medical supplies of any kind, which had to deal with, say 12,000,000 homeless and 5,000,000 casualties—both conservative estimates in terms of thermonuclear bombing.

It is not intended, as has been suggested, as insurance against a war fought with conventional bombs. The Generals have ruled that out. It is a part of Western strategy to make it clear that a war will be atomic "from the start," that we will take the atomic initiative.

Civil Defence is a part, quite simply, of the cardboard background of our present strategy. That strategy has only one solid part—the threat of indiscriminate civilian massacre as a reprisal. But, since it is to be called "defence," and since it looks more lifelike that way, the cardboard soldier has to have his cardboard helmet. It is pointless to use anything dearer than cardboard. There are not to be any deep shelters.

Bluff as a military policy, threats of destruction as a defensive measure, are not new, and may be effective. The European governments, few of which seriously believe in the danger of a Soviet onslaught, are content enough with the present situation: enough troops to prevent a walk-over by the Red Army in any disturbed area of Europe, and big talk to make the Kremlin careful.

But bluff carries its inevitable risks. The first is that it is bound to be called. The second is that it will come to be taken seriously.

Ceremonial Suicide

If the countries of Eastern Europe had ever seriously considered a military attack on the West (and there is still not a vestige of evidence that they ever did so) I doubt if they would be deterred by the cardboard soldier. By saying that we will meet "aggression" by all-out atomic war, we have only guaranteed that Britain and Western Europe cannot afford to recognise "aggression" if it occurs. Our main weapon is ceremonial suicide. By adopting it we have ruled out military defence. If the decision were in European hands, I doubt if even a direct invasion of Western Europe would make the use of thermonuclear weapons politically possible.

Unfortunately, the decision does not rest in European hands. It might rest in the hands of Mr. Dulles, for whom anything from the return of a Communist government in France upward might be an act of "aggression." The Americans take the cardboard strategy seriously. It is not something to exhibit, which they know can never be used. It is part of the defence of America against Communism. Life, for the American General Staff, would go on after D day plus 15. And if the risks of a Russian attack on Western Europe are now, as they probably always have been, nil, the risks of an American embroilment with Russia's ally, China are far from negligible. And it is

* Continued on back page

First nation to disarm will bring peace

—Dr SOPER

THE first community to put aside its weapons would break the vicious circle of war and truce and preparation for more.

Dr. Donald Soper told this to the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of Ireland when he spoke in Dublin on the "20th Century Challenge to the Christian Citizen," reports The Irish Independent.

The world was in "imminent peril," he said, from the concentration of the weapons of destruction in the hands of military men.

World pacifists make— "DECLARATION OF PEACE"

PACIFISTS from all over the world, but the majority from Asia, met in conference in April this year in Japan.

The conference concluded with the unanimous adoption of a five-point "Declaration of Peace."

The Declaration appealed to all Governments "to abolish the manufacture and use of atomic weapons as a first step to total disarmament" and take effective steps to "eradicate political, economic and social causes of tension and conflict between nations and in their place to bring about world-wide co-operation."

"Only the people's refusal to participate in war for any cause whatsoever will save nations."

It also appealed to peoples all over the world "to demand with one voice that war be abolished" and "move their Governments to resort exclusively to peaceful solutions for all international disputes."

The Declaration also urged the people of the world to become conscious of their power to reject war and to this end urged Pacifists the world over to "organise an active resistance to war."

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, India's Minister of Health, in a message to the conference prayed "with you that wisdom and enlightenment may dawn on this foolish dark world of ours so that those in authority may realise the way to peace lies not in war but in selfless devotion to service of humanity."

Addressing the concluding session, Sudhir Ghosh, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, said that in the welter of confusion in international politics, it "is necessary for pacifists to say unequivocally that in Communist society there could be no pacifist way of life at all."

Ghosh added, reports the Indian journal, Sarodaya: "A Gandhian pacifist believed in resisting Communism as much as anybody else but he did not believe in the new American philosophy that the answer to Communism must be military in nature."

Ghosh explained that Mahatma Gandhi lived and died for non-violence; foundation for that society was the philosophy of decentralisation of authority and of self-help. Gandhism, therefore, was an antithesis of Communism.

Ghosh said the effective answer to Communism was solution of the problem of poverty and this could be achieved "not through American charity or through individual effort of sovereign Governments but through international co-operation in a world development authority under United Nations. "Freedom from imperialism is not enough for this purpose."

DERBY: DAY ON SATURDAY

DERBY: H-bomb demonstrations by Midland pacifists will open tomorrow (Saturday) with a poster parade at 2.45 p.m.

An open-air meeting will be held in the Market Place at 7.30 p.m. See Diary page 3.

LEEDS: The Tattoo Protest Committee wants poster paraders to assemble at the bottom of the Town Hall steps, Victoria Square at 3 p.m. for a march. Posters and boards provided. Offers of assistance to Ann King 36 Ash Road, Headingley, Leeds 6.

The first large tattoo since World War II is to be held in the Roundhay Arena, Leeds from June 2 to Saturday, July 3. General Gruenther will be present on June 29.

WOOLWICH ARSENAL: Stuart Morris will be among the speakers at an open-air meeting and "Any Questions" session, part of a demonstration organised by the Non-violent Resistance Group, Eltham Peace Pledge Union and the Pacifist Youth Action Group on July 3.

PEACE NEWS

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REALITIES OF "CIVIL DEFENCE"

THE problem raised by Coventry's refusal to co-operate in the so-called "civil defence" plans is a different one from that which has formerly exercised pacifists.

During World War II there was no doubt in the minds of pacifists that ARP, as Civil Defence was then called, could save lives and that the expenditure in human effort in training and the manufacture of equipment had some proportionate relationship to the ends that it was sought to achieve.

The objection of the pacifist to participation in ARP was part of his objection to participation in war and to the power politics that make war inevitable. No country confines its war preparations to measures that can be utilised for defence only. Most of them can be equally utilised for offensive purposes also. It is true that it is claimed that these offensive activities will only be undertaken as part of a defensive policy, because the best defensive is an offensive, but this claim is equally made by every armed power, and thus every people lives under the threat contained in the armaments of the other powers.

This being so the pacifist finds that all measures of preparation for war are part of an integrated whole, and he finds it impossible to support one arm of military preparation without giving aid to the complete scheme and thus endorsing a policy with which he is in profound disagreement.

In the years in which war measures are confined to preparations most pacifists thus decide that it is impossible to participate in civil defence. When war was upon us there were different views among them. Some felt that they must maintain their objections and continue to treat the war measures as a whole, while others took the view that with the war present they could co-operate in those aspects of the nation's activities that did not involve the destruction of life but could result in saving it.

Now the Coventry Councillors are not in the main pacifists and they are not actuated in their decision by the considerations that have been outlined above. What they are saying is that in the kind of war for which civil defence measures are being contemplated—World War III—the weapons that will inevitably be used are such that any civil defence measures so far envisaged will be futile.

In this way they are thinking on the same lines as General Gruenther, Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery and the Marshal of the Air Force, Sir John Slessor.

The Coventry Council hold therefore that there is so little chance to operate civil defence plans for the saving of life that the disproportion between the enormous expenditure and effort in their preparation and the meagre prospect that they will have any utility becomes grotesque.

The Council is saying in effect that the wartime difference between pacifists on the subject of civil defence referred to above cannot in future arise because the kind of life-saving opportunities that were available in World War II will not be present in World War III.

Coventry's pronouncement then relates to the practical question of what can be done that bears any reasonable relationship to the kind of situation that has to be contemplated in a future world war; and what it is saying is that no answer has been given to them that is not patently ridiculous.

If we are to judge by Sir Maxwell Fyfe's statements on the subject since Coventry made its decision, he knows very well that what the Council has claimed is true. What we have had from him has been a mass of clichés combined with promises that the matter will have serious consideration.

The repeatedly revised American view as to what is required in civil defence is a plain indication of the futility of anything of the kind that can be arranged for Great Britain.

The Civil Defence Administrator for the USA, Mr. Val Petersen, reached the conclusion three months ago that the only thing that could be done in a hydrogen bomb attack would be to get the people out of the cities. He treated with scorn the whole conception of civil defence that we have set before us in this country. "The cities are finished," he said.

By the help of radar and other techniques he hoped to be able at the end of 18 months to provide a warning of coming attack two hours in advance. This was to be a signal for the general evacuation of the threatened cities, and Mr. Petersen thought that it would not be too much to expect a healthy person to cover 10 miles before the expiration of the warning period. It will be seen that although such a policy as this may have some relevance to the situation in great territories such as the USA or Russia, in Britain and Western Europe it would have no relevance at all.

In fact, however, Mr. Petersen's conception is already outdated and has had to be revised for the USA; all the warning that it is now contemplated that it may be possible to give is one hour, with the reduced expectation that the fleeing millions may be able to get two miles from the cities, which if we may judge from what happens in traffic congested roads is pretty optimistic.

Even this revised conception is likely to be out of date in a few months for both the USA and Russia are making great progress in experiments with guided weapons that may carry H-bomb warheads, and as these are developed the plans of civil defence based on radar warnings become obsolete.

These are some of the facts of the horrors that are in store for the world if men are morally capable of using these weapons. Where people can for any purpose whatever bring themselves to do these things their fate will be a merciful one if they are not permitted to live on after having done them.

CIVIL DEFENCE AND GUIDED MISSILES

CALCULATIONS on civil defence are likely to be completely outdated soon because of the progress that is being made with guided missiles.

America is advancing in this field, but not so quickly as Russia where experimentation with guided missiles has been going on for years. There were experiments in rocket production for military purposes in Russia as far back as the 1930s. In the years following the war Russia is reported as having produced a thousand missiles of the German V2 type and used them for experimental purposes.

One of the main problems in the construction of guided missiles is made easier by the presence of the hydrogen bomb. This is the problem of precision in direction. Where a guided missile is carrying an atom bomb there is of course much less margin for error than with a hydrogen bomb.

If a missile is to be directed by remote control across a continent it is a very difficult thing in the face of the incalculable atmospheric considerations

to bring it down at the precise point at which it is aimed, and if an atom-bomb missile is about a third of a mile off its mark it is a "miss" (except of course for those it happens to kill despite its inaccuracy).

In the case of a missile with a hydrogen bomb war-head, however, there is the possibility of a much greater margin of error. It is considered possible to discharge guided missiles with hydrogen bomb war-heads of a destructive power of 1,000,000 tons of TNT, that is, 50 times the power of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. In such a case a missile could strike up to four miles from the point at which it was aimed and still bring about the destruction of the city for which it was intended.

The scientists engaged on this work therefore both in America and Russia have much less ground to traverse in getting the required degree of accuracy now that it has become possible to replace the atom bomb missile by the hydrogen bomb missile.

Valley of Indecision

HOPES that the secret meetings on Indo-China would result in effective compromise have been largely dashed. Speeches at the recent open sessions revealed that the differences were as great as ever.

Mr. Eden was right to give a clear warning that only failure faced the conference unless there was a real determination to find a compromise. Last week we suggested that Mr. Molotov's five points were a basis for discussion, but delegates have apparently gone off on to insistence on their own details before they had registered an agreement on principle.

In regard to the supervision of an armistice, we agree with Mr. Eden that the Communist demand for a mixed commission on which both sides should be represented offers no solution.

It may well be that the attitude taken by the Western Powers towards the Communists has led the latter to believe that their point of view will not be adequately safeguarded unless there are Communists present to insist on it, but Mr. Eden's proposal that representatives of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia would form a just and impartial commission seems to us to be beyond dispute. We earnestly hope that after further consideration it will commend itself to the Communist representatives.

Road to intervention

Mr. Eden is obviously anxious that the conference should not fail and ready to do all he can to ensure its success. We do not believe that, as The Times says, the Communists are prepared to see the conference break up without results almost immediately.

It is true that for the French the situation in Indo-China deteriorates daily, and, as their Defence Minister has said, they are almost at the end of their resources there.

But the Communists know the danger that the more parlous the position of France becomes the more likely, failing an armistice, that America will come to her aid; and a break-down at Geneva might furnish the State Department with the excuse which it wants.

More American aid might so easily lead to direct intervention, and direct intervention to world war.

We do not believe that Peking or Moscow is prepared to risk atomic war for the sake of standing out for their own mixed commission and refusing to accept a really neutral supervision in Indo-China, or for that matter some compromise also about Laos and Cambodia.

We feel sure that Mr. Eden does intend to make every effort to bring the conference through to a settlement. We can understand his feeling that matters cannot be protracted much longer, but it is well to remember that the Eastern mind does not think in the same terms about time as the West.

What in our age of hurry may seem to us to be procrastination, to them may well be the slow process of working things out.

We hope that Mr. Eden will not allow his patience to be exhausted, and that if, in spite of all efforts, the conference should prove to be abortive, he will still help to ensure that failure in Geneva will not cause any alteration of policy in London.

The British Government so far from allowing itself to be persuaded to support intervention in Indo-China must continue to work for a peaceful settlement in the Far East, with particular emphasis on the importance of the admission of the Peking Government to the United Nations.

Laniel in the lions' den

IT is obvious that the desire to get rid of the former French Premier, M. Laniel, was the one point of unity in an opposition divided in their motives as the three resolutions disclosed.

The essential fact is that both in regard to the conduct of the war in Indo-China and the negotiations in Geneva, and also in connection with the rearmament of Germany, M. Laniel did not carry the support of a majority in the Assembly or the country.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Though it will prove extremely difficult to find a successor because of the divisions of opinion even within the various parties, what is required is a leader who would be bold enough to call for an immediate cease fire in Indo-China, the abandonment of French claims there and the rejection of EDC.

We believe that only such a policy would represent the real desire of the majority of politically-minded Frenchmen, and it would certainly enable France to play a constructive part in peacemaking in Europe and the Far East.

One result of the fall of M. Laniel may be that American intervention in Indo-China will prove no longer practical politics and that Mr. Foster Dulles will carry out his threat of a reappraisal of American policy in Europe.

Effects on Geneva Conference

THE fall of M. Laniel's Government is bound to have serious effects in Geneva.

In the absence of a representative of a French Government which commands some degree of confidence at home and abroad, the political discussions on Indo-China can hardly continue, though there is no reason why the military discussions on the armistice terms should cease.

It may well turn out to be an advantage to have a breathing space in the political arena, and if in the meantime the military advisers can reach agreement on an armistice, there would be a better chance for a political settlement later.

The French crisis will not have the same effect on the Korean discussions, which seem to face a deadlock and breakdown, owing to the insistence of the Western delegates on claiming authority for UN in supervising the elections on the necessity for which both sides are agreed.

UN cannot be both a belligerent and a neutral, and for the Communists to accede to this claim would be tantamount to an admission that the UN forces had won the war in Korea.

Mr. Eden has been foremost in rejecting the Communist claims for representation on the supervisory commission for Indo-China and in advocating a truly neutral body. It is illogical for him to reverse his attitude where Korea is concerned.

Why not a compromise?

Let the West give way and agree to a neutral commission in Korea, and let the Communists give way and agree to a neutral commission in Indo-China—for neutral supervision in both cases is the essential.

Trespassers will be prosecuted

THE US is contemplating asking Britain to join in guaranteeing a frontier in S.E. Asia, any violation of which would be regarded as an act of aggression involving immediate retaliation. This is the form which the proposal for a S.E. Asian Treaty Organisation is now taking.

Much would depend on where the frontier is drawn, but, if as seems probable, the US would wish to include Laos, Cambodia and Siam in the area to be guaranteed, the British Government must tell them to think again.

The situation in Laos and Cambodia is too complex and uncertain to warrant their inclusion. As to Siam the more that is known of the situation there, the clearer it is that to guarantee Siam would be tantamount to backing a corrupt government and acquiescing in a situation which is bound to lead to a resistance movement if it is not radically changed.

Philosophy of war

RECENT speeches by General Gruenther and Field Marshal Montgomery, together with the contents of "Strategy for the West," a new book by Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Sir John Slessor, give a clear picture of the pattern of war in Europe, should it come.

Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers have gone a step further even than Foster Dulles with his pronouncement of "massed retaliation," for their strategy is based upon the immediate use of atomic weapons regardless of whether an aggressor uses them first, or indeed of the origin or scope of the conflict.

Sir Winston Churchill, in his speech last May when he called for a meeting of the heads of the great powers, said that it was the duty and interest of the Communist and free worlds to try to live in peace together, adding that if science opened the yawning chasm of self-destruction it also gave the vision of plenty and comfort for the masses everywhere.

But that was all conditioned by his policy of "peace through strength," which General Gruenther is there to carry out by the methods he thinks most effective.

Sir Winston has said nothing to suggest that the General's "philosophy of war" is at variance with his own.

NATO may now be described as the New Atomic Threat Organisation.

Uncontrolled atomic power . . .

SIR GEORGE THOMSON in a recent broadcast said that a cobalt bomb as a weapon was absurd because there was no controlling where it might get to. It was world suicide not war.

The same judgment must surely be passed on the H-bomb, and the race in armaments tends to create a situation in which each side must go one better than the other. Now that Russia has the H-bomb her potential enemies may want the cobalt bomb until, indeed, everything does get out of hand. That is one of the most dangerous ways in which war might come, however absurd it may seem to Sir George Thomson. After all, the whole business is absurd and the trouble is that there are so few signs of sanity in a world which seems to have gone mad.

. . . and controlled

POWER and Prosperity, a booklet published by the British Electricity Authority, discusses projects designed to meet the rising demand for electricity which is expected to show an increase of 54 per cent. by 1959.

The BEA believes that a significant contribution could become available from atomic power stations within the next 20 years. Now that the constructive uses to which atomic power could be put are becoming increasingly obvious and practical it is all the more absurd to divert any of it for the projects of destruction.

Eccentric minority ?

THE reason for the failure of the Churches was well stated editorially in the Hornsey Journal when it declared recently that a Church which proclaimed pacifism was more likely to be listened to than one which took the present attitude to the H-bomb.

Unfortunately, with the exception of Donald Soper and a few others, there is no sign of a forthright pronouncement from Christian leaders. The Archdeacon of London showed an entire absence of any real understanding of pacifism in his D day anniversary sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral when he condemned it as "a heresy of perfectionism in a world that had not achieved perfection."

We had thought that it was the duty of the Church to witness to the perfect way in an imperfect world, for how else is the world to achieve perfection? The Archdeacon claimed that the New Testament lends no countenance to pacifism "which would suffer the blotting out of civilisation or the enslavement of whole countries."

That, of course, is not the inevitable result of pacifism so much as of war, nor should pacifism be equated with a refusal to resist evil as the Archdeacon implies.

We can only hope that he will try to understand pacifism and the New Testament better before he attacks it again.

The Times was no better in its leader endorsing the sermon, for it, too, was full of inaccuracies. A reference to the pacifist position as that of "an eccentric minority" does not dispose of its claims.

It seems strange that The Times can say "physical force must not be used for an aggressive or even a directly spiritual end, it may be a Christian duty to use it for a defensive and temporal purpose, so long as no more of it is employed than is strictly necessary for the achievement of that purpose."

That is but a restatement of the older conception of the "just war," but the conditions laid down as essential if a war was to be called just have been blown skyhigh by the atomic bomb if they had not disappeared even earlier.

THIS PAGE

THIS WEEK all North America held an H-bomb Civil Defence exercise. It was a flop.

It was a flop because there cannot be any serious defence against H-bomb attack. And more people are coming to realise it.

When this happens there will be a demand for other ideas, other methods to deal with the problems of our day. This is the opportunity for the message of constructive, fearless peacemaking to be spread.

The Peace News supplement on the opposite page is designed to be folded and used as a leaflet. If every reader sends this leaflet to his Mayor or CD officer or MP or minister, at once there will be a distribution of over ten thousand of them.

And there are more where they came from. They are available from Peace News at 2s. 6d. per 50, 5s. per 100, 45s. per 1,000 post free. It is hoped that the reprints will run into tens of thousands. For your meetings, poster parades, door-to-door distribution—

GET THIS LEAFLET NOW!

The Best-laid Schemes . . .

... o' Mice an' Men Gang aft a-gley."



When this happens (as it happened with me who expected by now to be somewhere on the American continent) it goes to help us to a better understanding of our importance in the scheme of things. It cuts us down to size.

Fortunately, history can also interfere to avert the undesirable. What seems inevitable now may appear vastly different to historians of the twenty-first century. The inevitabilities of history are only admissible after the event, not before.

Of course, it is probably true that the other factors which change history's course are there all the time, but because they are qualitative rather than quantitative, ideas rather than armies, they are not observed.

When you think about the enormity of the H-bomb then, remember that. And remember that it is such instruments as Peace News which may be used to turn our age from tragedy into triumph.

An entry in your cheque book would be a good way to remember.

TOM WARDLE.

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Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

U.S. Court told—

STUDY NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

AMERICAN conscientious objector, Bradford Lyttle, was convicted on May 7, in Chicago by Judge Philip L. Sullivan for refusing to report for civilian work.

Lyttle was classified 1-0, conscientious objector available for civilian work, by his local board. He refused to report for such work because he believes "The life of each man belongs to God. It does not belong to any individual, group of persons, or Government."

After his conviction Lyttle made a statement to the court in which he said in part: "I am a conscientious objector to war, Your Honour; the law which I have violated is one of the means by which this nation insures its military strength."

"The question of whether or not military power is a moral practical means by which free men can protect their free institutions seems to me the most important question before our country."

"I submit that modern war, either defensive or offensive, is a violation of the spirit, the will, and the law of God, which Christians see embodied in the life of Christ . . .

"If there is one impression I would like to leave with the court, it is my faith in the power of non-violent resistance to evil. I ask the people in this court today, as I ask all Americans, that they look into their hearts and ask themselves if military power is a noble expression of the spirit of free men. If they find it is not, then I urge that they investigate and study non-violent resistance as a moral, just, honourable, and practical alternative."

Get it in the local rag!

LOCAL newspapers in Britain appear now to be paying more attention to discussion of the hydrogen bomb than are the nationals. An example of the way that peaceworkers can put this interest to good use is illustrated by the Hornsey Journal, a North London paper. On June 4 it published a leading article on Billy Graham which concluded:

"Somehow the masses identify the churches with forces that want to keep things as they are; and while the churches offer Christ, there are others who offer Marx; and who would assert that the former is making a greater appeal than the latter?"

"Perhaps the masses have lost confidence, not so much in Christianity, but in those who preach it—and fail to practise it. We believe, for instance, that a Church which was uncompromisingly pacifist would gain more respect and support than one which makes excuses for the hydrogen bomb."

The following week there were three letters supporting this editorial view and one calling for an end to the futility of Civil Defence. This pattern is repeated weekly in all local papers whose readers are keen enough to "write in about it." The issue of Civil Defence and the H-bomb is in essentials, a local issue, and no paper purporting to reflect local interests can afford to ignore it.

(See also Behind the News—page two)

Peace Pencils

Pencils with "The pen is mightier than the sword" printed on them are being sold by Peace Pledge Union Groups in the South of England. Sold at 4d. each, these fund-raising pencils are obtainable at £3 3s. for two gross from Messrs. Spencers, Seascale, Cumberland.

Report on IVSP International Meeting

A report on the 1954 International Delegates Meeting of the International Voluntary Services for Peace will be given by Douglas Childs at IVSP Centre, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.9, on Thursday, June 24 at 7.30 p.m.

Letters to the Editor

Captain Cheshire on Nagasaki

GROUP CAPTAIN CHESHIRE, VC says (Picture Post, June 5), "as a matter of fact I may as well confess to you that we were so keen on dropping this bomb on Nagasaki, and would have been so disappointed if the war had ended without our doing so, that we had quite determined if Japan did surrender before we flew to Nagasaki, to fly there and drop the bomb just the same."

Is it irrational to wonder whether somebody may not be equally keen to avoid the disappointment of never knowing what the H-bomb can do to people?

(Rev.) H. J. BLACKMORE.

Bethesda Methodist Church, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent.

The H-bomb Campaign

GEOFFREY RHODES makes a very sweeping statement when he says it is not a waste to get the support of millions for a Government promise.

Surely this is only true if the Government promise is something that those who ask for the signatures sincerely believe to be a step in the direction of stopping war?

Reduction of armaments unless based upon the principle of abolition holds out no such hope. "Collective peace through the United Nations" was the slogan for the Korean war. Perhaps the man in the street believes in that, but do those who ask him to support it believe in it?

Geoffrey Rhodes seems to think that a big campaign can come into being like a rabbit comes out of the conjuror's hat. As an organiser I can assure him it is not nearly so simple as he makes it sound. The work alone of putting all those signed slips in touch with Groups who will be planning the local work has been considerable and by no means simple.

There is no feeling of "moral superiority" in the campaign that we are trying to inaugurate, but a most urgent sense of the necessity for using this time of public consciousness of the dire situation to make a serious impact on the ordinary citizen.

The only way to make real impact upon this much talked of "man-in-the-street" is by the sheer sloggish hard work of the campaigners. This "second piece of paper," to which Geoffrey Rhodes slightly refers, tells those who want to do some of that sloggish hard work what to do.

In the struggle for the vote there was no lack of willing volunteers to "heckle" MPs and Cabinet ministers constantly on a particular issue, often at the cost of being roughly thrown out. That is unlikely to happen now-a-days, but even so, it is no doubt much easier to ask someone to sign a bit of paper, which is quite uncontroversial to the ordinary citizen, since it is unanimously agreed already by Parliament.

If this campaign is to succeed it will need the work and conviction of all pacifists. I do beg that the Headquarters of the societies forming the Joint Standing Pacifist Committee be given a chance before they are made a target for what does seem to me to be rather intolerant criticism.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Assembly of British Youth

CONSCRIPTION certainly featured in the Assembly of Youth as a big issue. The "Charter for Youth," unanimously adopted after much discussion, has this to say on conscription: "Simultaneously a reduction in armaments, and the reduction in the period of military service with a view to eventual abolition."

The majority of Assembly participants came from organisations on record for a reduction to 12 months—branches, district committees, and national executive of trade unions in the main.

That the Assembly was unanimous on the conscription issue is due to two factors. Firstly the decision on conscription covered both viewpoints—those for an immediate reduction and those for total abolition. Secondly the opponents of military service present (in large numbers) at the Assembly believed that 12 months is better than 2 years.

STANLEY LEVENSEN, Secretary.

British Youth Festival Committee, 9 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

What our correspondent was discussing in his article last week was the reasons why the Communist Party oppose the advocacy of the abolition of conscription. The two foremost considerations he urged were:

"1. For Communists anywhere to repudiate military service would lead to the same arguments they used out-

June 18, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

side Russia being applied to Russia herself. If British Communists advocated ending conscription here they would, to be logical, have to advocate it for Russia, too. That would put them in the pacifist camp, where they obviously have no desire to be.

2. Basic to Marxist thinking is the necessity to work towards the revolution. Military training is essential for effective revolution-making.

Reduction in the period would make ineffective any system of military training for possible war with Russia. Modern war, as distinct from revolutionary activity, demands an extended training period."—Ed.

The Churches

YOUR front page heading "Can the Churches condone this?" leads me to wonder what understanding there is of human conduct among certain kinds of pacifist intellectuals.

The Churches can condone anything because as an established institution they are the instruments of the state. Christ was not a Christian; had he worked through an established institution he probably would have died in bed.

Pure thinking is a product of individualism and individuals do arise from time to time who are capable of becoming race leaders but there has always been persecution of these giants. They have always threatened the thought structure of the society in which they have lived, and the power of the ruling class has been shaken.

To expect established institutions to give a lead in pure thought is the product of wishful thinking.

JAMES R. P. STEVEN.

7 Green Heys Rd., Liverpool, 8.

"If you want peace . . ."

I WOULD particularly like to express appreciation of the proposal to collect and collate all possible references of the false doctrine or maxim that preparation for war is the way to ensure peace.

It was Prof. Gilbert Murray who recently gave the lie to the maxim, which he said has been perverted from the original: "If you want peace prepare for PEACE."

One other suggestion to Miss Langley Moore: if she wrote to the great professors of history alive today, namely Arnold Toynbee and G. M. Trevelyan they would doubtless be able to supply the factual data over many centuries.

I do hope you will give space to the subject continuously until all historical proofs possible have been collected first into pamphlets, and then into book form as suggested by Miss Langley Moore.

CHARLES MARLAND.

The Woodlands, Caterham, Surrey.

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DIARY

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (Hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

Friday, June 18

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Kings Weigh Ho., Duke St. Annual Mtg., London Union For. Dr. Donald O. Soper, MA, "It Must be Pacifism." For.

Saturday, June 19

DERBY: 2.45 p.m.; Poster Parade. Meet 110 Osmaston Rd. 4.15 p.m.; Second Poster Parade 7.30 p.m.; Open-air mtg., Market Pl. Rev. Donald Pipe, Cnclr. Reg. Cook, J.P., Fredk. G. Forder, PPU.
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air mtg. "Christianity or War." Very interesting meetings. L'pool Peace Board.
LONDON, S.W.18: 3-6 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Wandsworth High St. (opp. Town Hall). Garden Party. Sideshows, refreshments, etc. PPU.
OXFORD: 2.30 p.m.; 43 St. Giles. Area Mtg. Robert Davis, "Christian responsibility in a pagan world." Games and puppets for children. For.

Saturday-Sunday, June 19-20

LONDON, W.C.2: Saturday 2.30 p.m. and Sunday 3 p.m.; Westminster Friends Mtg. Ho., 52 St. Martin's Lane. (Leicester Sq. Tube). Weekend School. "Pacifist Methods." Speakers: Hugh Brock, John Correll, Patricia Hutchins. All invited. London Area PPU.

Sunday, June 20

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (n. Holland Pk. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: Mr. Maung Maung Ji, MA, "My Work with Gandhi, Mrs. Besant and Tagore." PPU Religion Commission.
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.
HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Monday, June 21

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Horace G. Alexander, "India, Pakistan and World Peace." B'ham Peace Council.

Tuesday, June 22

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, June 23

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

Thursday, June 24

HAMPSHIRE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Albert Meltzer, "Anarchism and Sex in 1954." PPU.
ILFORD: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., c/o Albert and Cecilia, Rds. Tom Wardle, "Imperatives if We Mean Peace." First of a discussion series. PPU.
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Saturday, June 26

HIGH WYCOMBE: 2.30-6 p.m.; Hughenden Manor Gdns. Garden Party. Speaker: John Ferguson. Admission Free. For.

LEWES: 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. Prof. A. N. Tucker, "Some Racial Problems in Africa." Tea. Discussion. Bring and Buy Stall. PPU.

Thursday, July 1

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dr. J. Boss, "The Hydrogen Bomb." PPU.

PRESTON: 7.30 p.m.; Cong. Ch., Lancaster Rd. Public Mtg. John Ferguson, MA, BD, "The Christian and the Problem of War." For.

Saturday, July 3

SHEFFIELD: 3.30 p.m.; "Rydal," Snaithing Pk. Rd. Area Mtg. Rev. Donald Pipe, of Nottingham. For.

WOOLWICH: Objective—Peace Demonstration. 2 p.m.; Poster Parade from Plumstead Central Hall. 3 p.m.; Open-air mtg. near Woolwich Arsenal. 5 p.m.; Peace Exhibition and Buffet. Central Hall. Followed by Any Questions session. Non-violent Resistance Group, Eltham PPU and others. MPF.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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LABOUR AND GERMAN REARMAMENT

THE Co-operative Movement has now decided that it cannot support German Rearmament and some of the smaller trade unions at their Whitsuntide conferences have also voted the same way.

There is now a strong rank and file opposition to the Labour Party Executive's decision to support EDC and if another vote were taken in the Parliamentary Labour Party I doubt very much whether there would be still a small majority in favour of the line that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Herbert Morrison are taking.

It is difficult to forecast how the Party Conference at Scarborough will vote on this issue but it looks as if the tide of opinion against the rearmament of Germany is rising and it is quite possible that the Conference will follow the lead of the Co-operative Congress.

In a last effort to win over the rank and file to the official view it is announced that there are to be a series of regional conferences at which Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison and the other protagonists of German rearmament are to state their case.

The rank and file who are against the official view ought also to have an opportunity of stating their case.

It is reported in the News Chronicle (I have seen it nowhere else) that Mr. Attlee is to use one of the political party broadcasts to state the case for EDC.

I hope he will not do this for he would anticipate the decision of the Labour Party Conference and if he is to state the case for EDC in common fairness some other socialist who takes the other view should be allowed to reply.

The Tories are in favour of EDC and one understood that party political broadcasts were for the purpose of informing the listening public why and about what the two parties differed.

Mistaken idea of loyalty

However, I hope those who are opposed to German rearmament will listen tolerantly to the case of the other side and not be afraid to put their view out of any mistaken idea of loyalty to the leadership. For it is a mistake to think that leaders can always be right and in a democratic movement and democratic country the idea of following leaders right or wrong cannot be defended.

Mr. Herbert Morrison has again, in Israel of all places, defended German rearmament on the now familiar grounds that Germany is sooner or later bound to have an army and that it would be better if this army were kept under control in EDC.

In Glasgow the same day, Mr. Aneurin Bevan was examining this argument, pointing out the logic that if Germany were to be allowed 12 divisions as a beginning the demand for a stronger army will grow and it will not be possible to deny the Germans an air force, and atom bombs, and how safe would we in Britain feel then.

Indeed what could we say in reply to the Germans if they came to the European Defence Community and said: "Britain and the USA have both their private stock piles of atom bombs which they say they need to defend themselves against Communist aggression. If you need Atom and H-bombs as a deterrent against aggression why shouldn't we have them because we are nearer the Communists and are more in danger of aggression than you are."

The American generals in Europe are boasting about their new atomic artillery and its enormous destructive power. No wonder a section of the German press has expressed some anxiety about this. For where is it likely to be used in the event of war?

Possibly in Germany whose Eastern territories, if not her Western, would be devastated in the process of liberation.

What Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison and those who reason in the same way do not seem to realise is what the effect of raising 12 new German divisions, the introduction of conscription again and the possibility of the 12 divisions becoming 50, will have on Germany's Eastern neighbours. They will call up extra divisions too.

Field Marshal Montgomery has recently told a press conference in Paris that Russia and her neighbours could raise 400 divisions. German rearmament would give the impetus to a bigger call-up in all the Eastern European countries and we might be worse off than before we started.

Road to bigger armies

Enrolment of 12 new German divisions in the armies of the West would immediately increase East-West tension and be the road to bigger armies and more weapons on either side.

One emotional appeal that is being made in favour of German entry to EDC is that it would relieve British soldiers who would then be able to return home. We are asked "Why should British boys be conscripted to defend Germans?"

But there is no reason to believe that in the situation created by the formation of the German army British commitments on the continent would cease.

Indeed the generals would then argue that we needed a bigger army and more conscription than ever before because it would be needed both for watching the Germans and to deal with the increased tension in Europe.

MP attacks PPU and Non-violent Resistance Groups "MORAL COWARDICE"

IN an attack on the Non-violent Resistance Group which had recently demonstrated in his constituency, Mr. A. E. Cooper, Conservative MP for South Ilford, told local Conservatives:

"Look among them and you will see a rare bunch of conscientious objectors, but I do not think many of them are the real conscientious objectors whose views we can sympathise with.

"Most of these people are afflicted with moral cowardice and hide under these wonderful titles," the Ilford Guardian reports Mr. Cooper as saying. "We must not allow ourselves to be taken in by this sort of 'clap trap.' The price of peace is a high one."

Provide evidence, or withdraw

The Ilford Group of the Peace Pledge Union was linked with this attack on the Non-violent Resistance Group. The General Secretary of the PPU, Mr. Stuart Morris, has written a spirited letter to the editor of the Ilford Guardian in defence of these "men and women who have a real and genuine conscientious objection to war and all preparation for it."

He has asked if Mr. Cooper has any evidence to support his charge that "most of these people are afflicted with moral cowardice," and if so that he should make it public.

In a personal letter to Mr. Cooper he asks for the withdrawal of "a most ungenerous and unfair accusation."

A CARDBOARD HELMET

* From Page One

hard to resist the conclusion that given war with China, the White House will be little interested in what happens to Europe on D-day plus 15.

That is where our greatest danger lies. What Europe, and particularly Britain, knows to be bluff, America regards as workable strategy. There are alternative policies, but the Government has not so far had the courage to take them, at least explicitly. It is certainly inclining to the view that there could be no greater political calamity than war, but it is doing so in private, while continuing to talk as if atomic war were "preferable to Communism."

If this were so, it would be a more democratic form of defence to issue cyanide pills for use in case of a Communist onslaught to those who cared to apply for them, and let the rest of us take our chance.

Once again, the main conviction that death is better than defeat (European death, defeat of the "free world") is centred in America, like the conviction of the impending "Communist onslaught" itself.

The conviction is spreading, however, that this country can be defended, and that it can be defended only by diplomacy. We have seen the first signs of that conviction at Geneva.

This view is, of course, not identical with pacifism. Pacifism *bien entendu* does not guarantee its own success—it rejects war regardless of the risk.

But it is becoming evident to more and more Europeans that the evident risks of neutrality, of formally repudiating atomic weapons, unilaterally if need be, of compromise in the interests of the continued existence of organ-

ised life, are becoming progressively less than the risks of a policy of atomic bluff controlled by allies who take their own bluff seriously. That policy can only lead to the total discrediting of the West in the eyes of Asia, followed by its surrender or annihilation if it comes to the pinch.

The significance of Civil Defence, therefore, is not military. It is political. The action of the Coventry Council in boycotting it is political in character—it is a valid, and, potentially, a highly effective form of protest against the whole cardboard soldier policy.

In a neutral Britain which had ejected the American atomic bombers, a policy of civil defence, even an expensive policy, comparable in cost to the present drive for a strategic air force, would make sense. Pacifists might be divided in the degree to which they would support it, perhaps, but it would make sense. The present policy does not, and those who accuse its opponents of gambling with civilian life are on pretty thin ice so long as we harbour a foreign air force over which we have very little control.

Those who apply pressure to the Government through its civil defence programme can do so in the knowledge that informed opinion even in the Government is almost certainly coming to realise that a recalculation of the risks is needed.

They will continue for some time to talk of the need for Anglo-American unity and negotiation through strength. But that unity was blown up by the explosion of March 1, and the extent of Western strength, when we have nothing between surrender and hara-kiri to offer, is at least doubtful.

If there ever was a time when public pressure was politically necessary to save our country, that time is now.

"As a moat defensive"

*This fortress built by Nature for herself,
... This precious stone set in a silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.*

—King Richard II. William Shakespeare.

*We shall fight on the seas and oceans... we shall fight on the landing grounds,
we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall
never surrender.*

—Winston Churchill, June 4, 1940.

FINE words, thrilling words, words to rouse the deepest rooted emotion in the hearts of men and women the world over—love of country.

In the Fourteenth century, when Richard II reigned in England, Englishmen accepted the barrier of the English Channel as nature's bulwark against all enemies; no envious monarch, no aggressive sovereign, whatever his strength, could breach that defensive "moat." Wars were fought upon the seas and oceans, and on the fields and beaches of other lands, but not upon England's precious earth.

It was not until the Twentieth century that nature's "wall" against invaders went down before the onslaught, not of an enemy, but of science. It was then no longer necessary to man ships to send against the island fortress; men piloted craft in the air far above the futile waves and winds, and the puny guns of England's "blessed plot."

Churchill's stirring call to defend Britain's heritage on the beaches, in the fields and in the streets, rallied the sinking hearts of those already cowering underground in fear of the unleashed terror from the air.

Yet, almost before that tremendous battle-

cry was uttered, its futility became apparent to any thinking person. We could not, in fact protect those "landing grounds" of Plymouth, Portsmouth and Southampton; Hull, Harwich and Dover; we could not defend the streets of Coventry, Birmingham and Bristol from the Luftwaffe's hail of high explosives, except by retaliation.

Already the whole conception of "defence" was altered; the moat was dry, the wall was breached, and, standing on the rubble of ruined homes under which the defenceless inhabitants had been buried alive, there was nothing for Britain's war-leader to offer but the cry of a street urchin:—"We'll give it 'em back."

And so the morale of Britain's population was sustained by the knowledge of "massive retaliation"; the loss of home and family and friends countered by the tales of far worse deeds done by Britain's sons to the homes and friends and families of Germany; grief and fear set against the equivalent emotions in the hearts and homes of the enemy.

Air Raid Precautions became another phrase for rescue of survivors, succour for wounded, shelter for homeless, but defence against bombardment was impossible since the bomber always got through.

Then came the atom bomb, and it is now known that even rescue work was impossible within a radius of four miles from the centre of the blast. In Hiroshima every hospital but one was entirely wrecked, and every telephone, telegraph, power and railway station destroyed.

If the H-bomb is used, and we have been told unequivocally that if there is a war it will be used, it is estimated that the area of total destruction will be nine miles, and that within that area it is unlikely there would be any survivors. This radius would encompass a whole city of the size of Birmingham, Coventry, Manchester or London.

So-called "Civil Defence," therefore, can only operate outside of cities. How then, are the millions within the total destruction area to be defended?

The Home Office does not answer this question for the simple reason that these people cannot be either defended or saved, and it is impolitic, and might cause "alarm and despondency" to say so. Yet, to adopt a policy where there can be no defence and no hope for millions, is the defeatism of despair.

There is only one answer, and it is sound good sense as well as good ethics; if war means the H-bomb, then war must be abandoned. "Wa—we say no" is the battle cry with which to rally people of commonsense and goodwill in the last great struggle: for the right to live in a world at peace.

France censors Indo-China article

THE May number of a French publication, Jean-Paul Sartre's review, *Les Temps Modernes*, was issued with a number of pages cut out as a result of censorship. The contents list showed that these contained an article entitled "We shall not set off on a Crusade."

Extracts were published in the Italian Communist paper *Unita* and these are reproduced in *Le Populaire*, the newspaper of the French Socialist Party. We publish these below in the translation made for European Press.

"Sartre is quoted as having spoken ironically about the tendency of imperialists and colonialists to consider negotiation as complicity and attack as defence, and to treat the American planes which bring death to the Vietnamese as pure white doves and the victims of provocation by the people's army. He is said to have continued:

"The extraordinary admission involved in this raving is that if peace favours Ho-Chi-Minh it is because we only maintain ourselves in Indo-China by force. The impudence which stigmatises as aggressive the Chinese aid to Vietnam, while Washington openly provides funds and military supplies, would not normally need to be remarked on, if it were not that this time the aim is to provoke, by blackmail or by force, decisive action to destroy Communism."

"In this light the operations at Dien Bien Phu take on their real significance.

"What is happening today reveals a deliberate intention to transform local incident into a decisive test, to put up a front of appearing to fight with our backs to the wall in order to divert attention from our military defeat, to hinder the movement in favour of peace, and at the same time to provide the United States with a pretext for direct intervention. Dulles' proposal for a "warning" to China opens up a manoeuvre of even vaster scope, whereby China either has to stand by and watch Vietnam being crushed by the American war machine, or expose herself to atomic reprisals. The USSR in her turn would have to choose between allowing China to be annihilated or risking total war. And in the background of the picture, the Pacific Atolls shatter with the reverberation like the day of doom."

"Attacking the French Press, Sartre suggests that they should spare the adulation of French military leaders. It is true that Frenchmen are dying at Dien Bien Phu, but the heroism of the soldiers has never justified a criminal war."

"And we shall still reserve our deepest admiration for those little men who, on foot in the jungle and among the hills, sprouting from the earth like blades of corn, carry on their backs their ration of rice and their ammunition, and hurl themselves through a sea of napalm against barbed wire which imprisons their country. Of these we must say—we are with them. These soldiers are fighting for us, as everyone fights for us and with us who uphold in battle his rights as a human being."

"It may be that a handful of Americans dream of destroying the Chinese revolution, that hate makes a few Frenchmen risk world war for the sake of vengeance on liberated Vietnam, but if their joint efforts lead to catastrophe, there are men in France, and we are among them, who will stop at nothing to thwart their designs."

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What the experts say about the H-bomb

Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale

Professor of Chemistry,
London University

If we are to spend £140 million a year on civil defence we should at least expect that we shall get value for money. But there is official silence, both here and in the USA on such questions as these:

1. If in a 1,000-bomber raid (such as actually took place in the last war) some 50 planes, each delivering a hydrogen bomb (or even an ordinary atomic bomb) got through, how are we proposing to bury all the radio-active corpses that would be the result? Do we hope that they would be cremated.
2. If millions of corpses remain unburied for weeks, how are we going to cope with the disease that would follow?
3. If the atomic raids are accompanied or followed by germ carriers, what measures can be taken to prevent the spread of unknown or unfamiliar plagues?
4. If ports are destroyed and transport paralysed, how are food supplies to be maintained and movements of refugees away from contaminated areas controlled?
5. Are there plans for the building of deep shelters sufficient to accommodate all urban populations with a continuous supply of food to last several days at least, and the possibility of obtaining more by underground transport?

The Association of Scientific Workers

"BRITAIN could be knocked out, with or without Civil Defence, and independently of what our armed forces or those of our allies were doing.

"One bomb, properly placed, would kill at least two and a half million people in the Birmingham industrial area. The number killed would be considerably greater in the London area, and between two and six bombs should be quite adequate to break down our resistance.

"Anything that helps people to forget this fact, in our view, is dangerous."

Lord Montgomery

THE Manchester Guardian reported on April 6, that Field Marshal Lord Montgomery, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, was asked if, in the event of war, atomic bombs would be used.

He replied: "I give you my opinion now, that if war is joined I reckon that both sides will use atomic and other similar weapons; that is my view."

Asked, "Right from the outset?" he answered, "Right from the outset. That is my view. If war is joined—if we're attacked."

Lord Montgomery added: "I believe that in world war three, if it should come, the safest place to be will be in the front line with the fighting soldiers."

Ritchie Calder

Science Editor, The News Chronicle

THE safety zone around the Marshall Islands proving area has now been extended to a radius of 450 miles. Anything within that radius will be "at risk."

Transferred to Britain with Birmingham as the centre, that would include the entire British Isles, half of France, all of Holland and Belgium and Germany as far as Frankfurt.

... surely the time has come to pause and think again about the hydrogen effects because one is entitled to assume that the Russians are not likely to be any more certain of the calculations of their experiments than the American scientists are in theirs.

This is not a question of how or on whom you use the H-bomb. It has nothing to do with politics or strategy but with the limitations of knowledge.

Congressman Hollifield

Democratic Congressman
from California

IF people only knew what an atomic war would do to their countries, they would compel the political leaders of the world to sit down at a conference table and settle their differences peacefully.

Prof. Alexander Haddow

Director, Chester Beatty Research
Institute, Royal Cancer Hospital

RECENT events in the Pacific, with their demonstration of the powers of the hydrogen bomb for limitless annihilation, at once bring to an end the notion that the area of danger can have any but relative meaning, and destroy the conception of civil defence. If we are entering the realm of the incalculable so far as the individual test explosions are concerned, the likelihood of ultimate disaster grows steadily greater.

... the issue is so universal, and the Governments of the world are so compromised in their attitudes towards it, that we must despair whether there exists in fact either the mechanism or the will (for solution). Clearly the resources of national Governments and of traditional diplomacy are bankrupt, when it appears impossible to bring together the heads of the States concerned ...

If all solution is beyond the present means, the question must be raised whether the representatives of world science itself, imbued by some sense of humane responsibility, can assist in the judgment ... from such a body alone might we expect a factual appraisal and an advocacy of policy, of such overwhelming weight as to commend itself to the whole of the civilised world.—The Times, March 30.

William L. Laurence

Scientific correspondent of the
New York Times, quoted by The
Times, April 8, 1954

"THE new chemical compound that has revolutionised the production of the hydrogen bomb now makes it certain that the most dreaded weapon of all—the cobalt bomb—also can be successfully built."

But, he said, it was obvious from the nature of the weapon that it could never be tested in the Pacific or anywhere else in the world, for this is the type of hydrogen bomb of which Professor Einstein wrote in 1950, "if successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence annihilation of any life on earth, will have been brought within the range of technical possibilities."

Rep. James Patterson

AMERICA has devised two nuclear weapons which are too dangerous to test, Representative James Patterson said today.

Mr. Patterson, a member of the Atomic Energy Committee, said President Eisenhower, on the advice of scientists has ordered only limited development of the devices.

"I call them 'devices'," Mr. Patterson added. "I won't call them bombs. I know what would happen if another war should start. It would mean destruction of us all."—The News Chronicle, June 8, 1954.

And the man in the street . . .

. . . in letters to the editor

Congratulations to the Labour members of Coventry City Council for their demonstration against the H-bomb exercise. They are men of honesty and courage. Tens of thousands must think as they do, but have not the guts to say so.—Daily Herald, June 2, 1954

... we may yet be grateful to them for the stand they have made for a little sanity in this lunatic world.—News Chronicle, June 2.

... the most efficient Civil Defence yet devised will be farcical

against H-bombs . . . unlike floods, wars are man-made, even politician-made, and somehow or other efficient CD tends to encourage inefficient diplomacy.—News Chronicle, June 2, 1954.

Civil Defence is an essential part of war-organisation and its existence not only implies acceptance of that war at some future date, but thereby increases greatly the probability of such event.—News Chronicle, June 7, 1954

THIS LEAFLET

This leaflet is issued as a supplement to Peace News, an international weekly newspaper devoted to the cause of genuine peace-making. Peace News was founded in 1936 and was associated with the work of Canon "Dick" Sheppard and the Rt. Hon. George

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CIVIL DEFENCE AND THE HYDROGEN BOMB



ILLUSION

These women, their faces covered with tomato ketchup, are behaving as they have been led to believe they might behave if an H-bomb dropped near their city, Coventry. They are taking part in a Civil Defence demonstration held there on May 30. The purpose of the demonstration was to encourage citizens in the belief that Civil Defence will strengthen their security against the H-bomb.

—Photo Coventry Evening Telegraph.

REALITY

These Japanese people are the real victims of a real atomic weapon—the Hiroshima bomb (2,000 times LESS powerful than the latest H - bomb). Many of them had burns spreading over more than 30 per cent. of their skin. They died one after the other.

—Asahi Graph.



ATTACK THE H-BOMB ON YOUR DOORSTEP

Europe

Wherever you are — the bomb is YOUR enemy

Russia



IN April, Coventry City Council voted to abolish its Civil Defence Committee.

At once there was a stir which ran through the country. Newspapers took it up and there were speeches by important men in and out of Parliament criticising the action.

Why?

It was the action of 32 men voting against 13. It affected only one rather poorly-operating local Civil Defence machine. Why should there be more fuss made about this than all the meetings and demonstrations against the H-bomb that have been held up and down the country since the first horrible truth of the weapon dawned upon the world?

The reason is that Coventry's action had executive effect. It was not a resolution urging the doing of something, it was the doing of that thing itself. It was in its way, an act of unilateral disarmament. And it was a blow struck directly and painfully at the whole body of war preparations.

Any regime, no matter how totalitarian, no matter how concentrated its power, depends in the ultimate upon the readiness, enforced or conditioned, of local agencies to carry its edicts into effect.

If there is resistance, at even the lowest level, the total discipline is endangered.

Challenge

Coventry is important, not because of the few people who will be disengaged from CD activities in that city, but because it calls into question the CD scheme over the country as a whole, because it is a challenge to the very concept of Civil Defence.

It is, for the first time in many a long year, an act of non-co-operation carried out by a responsible public body. It is comparable to the resistance of Lansbury and his Council at Poplar years ago.

However, this tactic raises serious questions for all who are concerned about the H-bomb.

Is it playing on fear? To make great play with the destructive capacity of the H-bomb as a reason for doing away with passive and other forms of defence, is this not using the method of personal and national fear, just as it is used by those who would have us manufacture the Hydrogen bomb?

And are the results of the use of this fundamentally unhealthy method likely to be any better than those which the militarists produce?

Is it not preferable under the circumstances

of today's universal fear to promote a little confidence so that we may be more capable of looking calmly at the problems which we face?

Is it not better to support Civil Defence in encouraging self-control rather than to spread panic?

At least is it not the part of us all to keep our heads, and if we cannot endorse Civil Defence ourselves, not to discourage others from so doing?

Propaganda

In a recent issue of the News Chronicle there was a feature article on Civil Defence. It included a map showing the area of damage to be expected should an H-bomb drop on London. Damage, varying in degree, was assumed to spread over a circle 40 miles in diameter.

In the accompanying article the Chairman of Sheffield's Civil Defence Committee was quoted as saying that if war came there would still be lives to be saved; the old and sick to be tended and suffering to be relieved. "Who is going to stand by with their hands in their pockets?" he asked.

The impression left upon the average reader must be that those who oppose Civil Defence are callous brutes who are deliberately organising to let old and sick people die. In that article, as in every piece of propaganda aimed at the "Coventryites," there is not the slightest suggestion of concern for the upwards of five million people who could be expected to die as a result of the explosion. Their loss is "given" and they are, apparently, not to be talked about. They are beyond the realm of moral or emotional consideration; only those who are on the fringe of the devastation are proper subjects for concern.

Now it is precisely because they are concerned with everybody; the potential dead within the "doughnut," and the injured on the edges, that people like the anti-CD councillors take the attitude they do.

It is not denied that the organisation of welfare and rescue teams could very well result in saving the life of people in Chelmsford if a bomb dropped on central London. But it is because they do not want the bomb to drop on London in the first place that they attack the chimera of Civil Defence.

Comparison

They refuse to accept five million dead as "given." They refuse to accept the standards of thinking which are concerned more with the repair of a broken leg in Chelmsford than five million deaths in the city. And, they argue, to continue with a military and political programme which involves contemplating the use of the Hydrogen bomb against anyone, anytime, is to invite those five million deaths.

Theirs is thus the only real Civil Defence—not to have a war.

The Press of Britain, as in all countries, is enormously powerful. At this moment it is engaged in supporting the policy of the Government to "play down the Bomb." This means giving the suggestion that it is very much less of a thing than was at first feared.

This can be done by comparisons—for

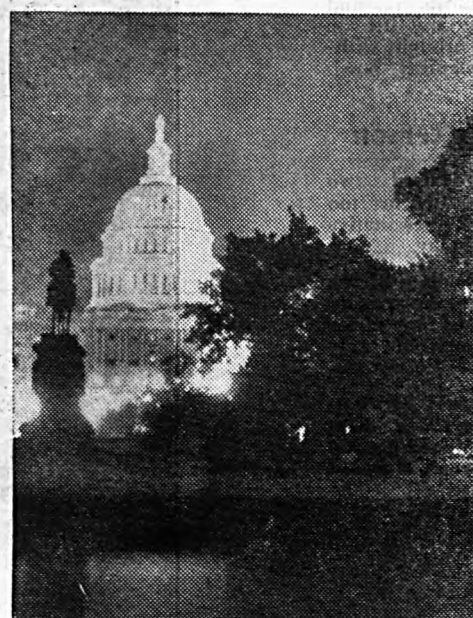
example one Civil Defence officer said recently that for one bomb to be capable of destroying Britain from Land's End to John o' Groats it would have to be one million times as great as existing types. The implication is that because the present bomb is not able to do this, but merely able to devastate, say, London, there is no real cause for anxiety. This kind of argument also proceeds from the assumption that only one bomb would be dropped at a time.

The most pressing task of Civil Defence propaganda is to assist also in playing down

the bomb. This conduces to unreal thinking and inhibits action against it. Together, Government and Press create a system of illusion which aims to lead to a sense of security. It does not, for the facts are too blatant for even the most skilled propagandists to overlay. But it does result in a turning away from the problem, a defensive attitude which most people adopt when things get too much for them.

While this official campaign does not produce more recruits for Civil Defence therefore, it can help to smother public revulsion at the H-bomb. And that is precisely what is happening.

America



THE FACTS

PROFESSOR JOSEPH PROTBLAT, eminent atomic scientist, has estimated the effects of an H-bomb exploding over London at several thousand feet. They are:

Within a radius of nine miles, an area in which some four million people dwell, every building would be damaged by blast beyond repair, and there would probably be no human survivors.

Beyond that circle, blast damage would diminish, but there would be some in Oxford and Cambridge, and perhaps a few broken windows in

So when a responsible authority repudiates the Government eyewash and disbands its Civil Defence Committee it is performing about the only act which is capable of bringing home to the public the seriousness of the present situation.

It cuts right across the Press curtain and official deception. There can be hardly a person in the country who did not sit up sharply when the announcement of Coventry's decision was made.

No other event in the past six months has so brought home the truth of modern war.

What we want, consequently, is more "Coventrys."

There is no doubt that the original thought in the mind of the average citizen when he hears the facts of H-bomb life is of what it means to him or his country. His first reaction is one of alarm if not of fear. But it does not inevitably remain so. After the shock of reality, he begins to think, and it is then that he may be brought to consider the other implications—moral and spiritual. It is not a wicked thing that men should be concerned about the survival of themselves and their loved ones; it only becomes so when that survival is at the expense of others, or of deeper values.

The significance of the H-bomb is that it makes clear now what has not been clear

Birmingham and Bristol.

There is also damage by heat. It would be sufficient to start fires, or kill a person standing in the open, over a radius of 18 miles—a circle running roughly through Windsor, Hertford, Gravesend and Redhill.

If the same bomb exploded over Manchester, the circle of devastation and no survivors would run through Bury, Stalybridge, Wilmslow and nearly to Leigh. The circle of lethal heat would extend not far short of Burnley, past Glossop out to Alport Moor, well beyond Macclesfield and to St. Helens.

Inside these circles there would also be danger from radioactivity.

—quoted in *The Daily Herald*

before, the indivisibility of survival. On this question there can be no division of the world into sections representing different "interests." The interests of all are one.

It is therefore logically possible, and in practice has shown itself to be true, that a man may be brought to a contemplation of the total meaning of war and human conflict once his thinking and feeling have been awakened by some such impact as the H-bomb has.

There is then an unequalled opportunity for people in Britain to play a great part in defeating the H-bomb (and conceivably war itself) by attacking Civil Defence on the local level.

Illusion

A few more Coventrys and the whole system of illusion would be destroyed. It would be imperative for the Government to re-think Britain's position in the cold war.

And such a local campaign would be effective because:

1. It brings world politics and the H-bomb down to a level where the common man can understand them—the level of his own locality.
2. It enables the citizen to "do something about it" in a way which is not possible on a national or world level. Meetings, parades, demonstrations though they involve tens of thousands may be ineffective in changing the course of central government policy, but a comparatively few people can create enough local interest to compel municipalities to act as they want them to.

Methods

The way to go about it would seem to be to create a local group with the objective of giving the facts of the H-bomb to the public in a dramatic way through working for the abolition of the local Civil Defence Committee.

This could be done by sending letters to all members of the Council and Civil Defence Committee, and to the local Press. Deputations to Councillors and the Mayor and poster parades outside the Town Hall could call for an end to the waste of ratepayers' money in perpetrating a deception.

Officials of the Civil Defence organisation could be questioned on the effectiveness of CD preparations; they could be subsequently challenged to public debate; local clergy could be encouraged to give a Christian lead; householders could be acquainted with the facts and asked to think about them (a suitable leaflet might be distributed systematically throughout the district); ward meetings of all parties could discuss the question; and at local election time a specially intensive campaign could be run; in the meanwhile local individuals and organisations



could be encouraged to refuse facilities for Civil Defence purposes.

The result would be to start a local war between the forces of authority trying desperately to maintain the myth of Civil Defence and justify the H-bomb, and those citizens who came to the view that the times demanded a radically new approach to such questions.

Wanted

And this, of course, is precisely what is wanted.

It would stimulate thinking in a way that is not possible while the Press and Radio are operated in keeping with the official line. Local papers, unlike the big national ones, could not afford to ignore the controversy. As further city and borough councils came to join Coventry in her stand, even the big dailies would be obliged to take notice. We should then be getting somewhere.

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